

## RINGKASAN

Novel sebagai karya fiksi menyodorkan suatu dunia rekaan atau imajinatif ke hadapan pembaca melalui penceritaan yang solid atau terstruktur seperti tokoh, peristiwa, alur, sudut pandang, latar, dan lainnya. Novel adalah bentuk sastra yang mampu merepresentasikan permasalahan sosial pada waktu tertentu, maka novel tidak dapat dipisahkan dengan dinamika masyarakat yang turut melibatkan penulis dan pembaca. Berdasarkan sifatnya itu, novel dapat dijadikan objek kajian sosiologi. Penelitian ini membahas kekerasan militer terhadap masyarakat sipil di dalam novel *Laut Bercerita*. Permasalahan mengenai kekerasan militer, jarang di temui dalam novel, hanya sedikit pengarang yang menulis realitas mengenai kekerasan militer di dalam novel. Penelitian ini, melakukan analisis kekerasan militer melalui definisi kekerasan Johan Galtung. Galtung membagi kekerasan menjadi tiga bentuk: kultural, personal, struktural. Kekerasan kultural, terdapat di dalam novel *Laut Bercerita* dan menjadi objek penelitian.

Representasi kekerasan militer terhadap masyarakat sipil, tergambar dalam alur penceritaan novel *Laut Bercerita*. Representasi kekerasan digambarkan melalui tokoh Laut, Kinan, Sunu, Sang Penyair, dan kelompok Wirasena. Representasi kekerasan terjadi di Yogyakarta dan Jakarta. Representasi kekerasan, dikaji menggunakan metode analisis data hermeneutik Hans-George Gadamer. Melalui penelitian ini, peneliti menggambarkan bentuk-bentuk kekerasan kultural yang merepresentasikan kekerasan militer terhadap masyarakat sipil melalui teks, sesuai dengan keadaan tokoh Laut dan kelompok Wirasena dalam novel. Penelitian ini, juga menganalisis (kasus) bentuk-bentuk kekerasan kultural lain yang serupa, sesuai dengan cerita dalam novel *Laut Bercerita*.

Melalui hasil pembacaan novel *Laut Bercerita* dengan menggunakan hermeneutik Gadamer, ditemukan bentuk-bentuk kekerasan kultural militer Orde Baru terhadap masyarakat sipil, seperti: penangkapan aktivis, pelarangan terhadap karya, teror di kalangan mahasiswa, peraturan Bersih Diri dan Bersih Lingkungan, eksekusi (pembunuhan) terhadap anggota atau simpatisan Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI), kisah eks-tapol, pelarangan pementasan Rendra dan pelarangan bentuk kesenian lainnya. Kekerasan kultural tersebut terjadi baik secara sadar (terencana) maupun tidak sadar (tidak terencana), melalui regulasi yang dibuat pada masa pemerintahan Orde Baru. Hal tersebut, menyebabkan kekerasan kultural militer terhadap masyarakat sipil, benar-benar terjadi di masa Orde Baru. Kekerasan kultural tersebut, terjadi baik di dalam novel maupun di dalam realitas masa Orde Baru.

## SUMMARY

A novel as a work of fiction offers a fictional or imaginative world in front of the reader through a solid or structured storytelling such as characters, events, plot, point of view, setting, and others. Novels are a form of literature that is able to represent social problems at a certain time, so novels cannot be separated from the dynamics of society that involve writers and readers. Based on these characteristics, novels can be used as the object of sociological studies. This research discusses military violence against civilians in the novels *Laut Bercerita*. The problem of military violence is rarely found in novels, only a few authors write the reality of military violence in the novel. This research analyzes military violence through Johan Galtung's definition of violence. Galtung divides violence into three forms: cultural, personal, structural. Cultural violence is contained in the novel *Laut Bercerita* and is the object of research.

The representation of military violence against civilians is depicted in the storyline of the novel *Laut Bercerita*. The representation of violence is depicted through the figure of Laut, Kinan, Sunu, Sang Poet, and the Wirasena group. Representation of violence occurred in Yogyakarta and Jakarta. Representation of violence was studied using Hans-George Gadamer's hermeneutic data analysis method. Through this research, the researcher describes forms of cultural violence that represent military violence against civilians through text, according to the situations of Laut and the Wirasena group in the novel. This research also analyzes (cases) other similar forms of cultural violence, according to the story in the novel *Laut Bercerita*.

Through reading the novel *Laut Bercerita* using Gadamer's hermeneutics, it was found forms of New Order military cultural violence against civilians, such as: arrests of activists, prohibition of works, terror among students, regulations for Clean Self and Clean Environment, execution (murder) of members or sympathizers of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), the story of the ex-political prisoner, the prohibition of Rendra's performances and the prohibition of other art forms. This cultural violence occurred both consciously (planned) and unconsciously (unplanned), through regulations made during the New Order government. This, causing military cultural violence against civilians, really happened during the New Order era. This cultural violence occurred both in the novel and in the reality of New Order era.